

FRIDAY, JANUARY 17, 1919

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# Reedy's MIRROR

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### The Way of It

At a dinner in San Francisco recently local Food Administrator Merritt told the following story to explain one reason why food is high: "A farmer the other day took a plowshare to the blacksmith's to be sharpened, and while the blacksmith worked the farmer chuckled and bragged about a sale of hogs he had just made. 'Them hogs was only eight months old,' he said, 'and none too fat, nuther, but I seen that the buyer was at his wits' end and by skillful juggling I boosted up the price on him just 300 per cent. Yes, sir, I got three times as much for them as I uster before the war.' The job being done, the farmer handed the 'smith 50 cents. 'Hold on,' said the 'smith, 'I charge you \$1.50 for that job now.' 'You scandalous rascal!' raged the farmer. 'What do you mean by trebling the price on me like that?' 'Just so I can eat some of that high-priced pork of yours this winter,' was the reply."

**Cactus Cal**—Thet there new minister of our'n ain't no tenderfoot. See, he's

usin' his left hand ter shake hands with th' members of his congregation. *Englishman*—What does that action signify? *Cactus Cal*—It don't signify nothin', stranger, but it leaves his gun hand free.—*Hillsboro Gazette*.

### Never Long Idle

A young Englishman, who used to take his beer out of his own pewter mug, said to the barmaid one day: "Al-ways give me my beer in my own mug. Never any other. Make no mistake." "Oh, no fear of making any mistake about your mug, sir," said the barmaid. "No?" said the young man. "No," said she. "The handle's always warm."

"Charley, dear," said young Mrs. Torkins, "are we going to have freedom of the seas?" "Why are you so interested?" "I haven't forgotten the way we were treated at the beach last summer. I don't believe anybody has a right to rope off the ocean and then charge you 50 cents for the privilege of taking a bath in it."—*Washington Star*.

## New Books Received

Orders for any books reviewed in REEDY'S MIRROR will be promptly filled on receipt of purchase price with postage added when necessary. Address REEDY'S MIRROR, St. Louis, Mo.

NEW POEMS OF NEW ENGLAND AND OLD SPAIN by Frederick E. Pierce. Boston: Four Seas Co., \$1.25.

Five stories in verse presenting rural New England from the point of view of the educated class thereof.

CORN FROM OLDE FIELDS by Eleanor M. Brougham. New York: John Lane Co., \$1.50.

An anthology of English poems from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, compiled to bring to the attention of the public the lesser known writers of the earlier period. The greater number of the poems have never been reprinted or appear only in rare books. Each poem is accompanied by a scholarly biographical note.

BEYOND LIFE by James Branch Cabell. New York: R. M. McBride & Co., \$1.50.

Sardonic yet friendly commentary upon romance, both natural and created, of all times.

SCOUTING FOR SHERIDAN by Byron A. Dunn. Chicago: A. C. McClurg Co., \$1.25.

Continuing the adventures of *Robert Hunter* and *Jim Kidder*, the youthful heroes of "The Boy Scouts of the Shenandoah" and "With the Army of the Potomac," bringing their daring experiences to a happy close with the ending of the civil war. Woven around actual events of the war. Illustrated.

THE WAR IN VERSE AND PROSE compiled by W. D. Eaton. Chicago: T. S. Denison Co., \$1.25.

Various phases of the spirit engendered by the war as expressed in prose and verse by those engaged in it, compiled for use in schools as recitations. Index of titles and first lines.

♦♦♦

### Anti-Climax

A parliamentary inspection party which recently visited the front was very, very quiet. They had heard a great deal about the necessity of not making a noise in certain front-line trenches. One day they were turned over to a sergeant who was to tell them all about the trenches they were traversing. "Two hundred Huns were captured here," he whispered. The message was relayed in whispers to those in the rear. "Forty-nine of the blighters blown up here by a mine," he whispered at another point, and again the whisper was relayed to the rear. Reaching a large dugout, the tension relaxed during which one of the first questions put to the sergeant was how far away were the German trenches at that point. "Oh, about nine miles; we captured those trenches months ago." "Demmit, why did you whisper then?" an irate M. P. broke in. "Because I've lost my voice," whispered the sergeant.

♦♦♦

"I love the country," said the young city man on vacation, "because everything smacks of freshness." "Perhaps it does in some parts," replied the rural maiden, "but freshness gets no smacks here."—*Boston Transcript*.

♦♦♦

### A Post Hoc Affair

The lady was speaking on women's rights. "They have demonstrated their superiority in every branch of life from home to public office," she maintained, and continued laughingly: "Why only the other day in Nevada they were trying a divorce case in which the woman appeared with a black eye. 'Do you

mean to say that that physical wreck gave you that black eye?' said the judge, pointing to the battered and cringing husband. 'He wasn't a physical wreck until after he gave me the black eye,' explained the woman."

♦♦♦

## Warning

By Margaret Widdemer

As long as you never marry me, and I never marry you,  
There's nothing on earth that we can not say and nothing we can not do—  
The flames lift up from our blowing hair, the leaves flash under our feet  
When once in a year or a score of years our hands and our laughter meet!

For east and west through a sorry world we pass with our joy to sell,  
And they that buy of our song and jest they praise us that we do well,  
But few can sell us the mirth they buy, and few be that know a song,  
And for all of the praise of the kindly folk, their speeches are over-long!

But two of a trade, one always hears, might get in each other's way,  
And you might be wanting to sing, God wot, when I desired to play,  
(Oh, it's rather a danger with folks like us and our sparks that are flying free)

But I never, never must marry you, and you never must marry me!

But when we take breath from songs at last, to be what the rest call dead,  
They'll sigh, "Ah noble the songs they made, and noble the jests they said!"  
And they will inscribe on our monuments regret that our day is done—  
But we will be off in an excellent place, and having most excellent fun—

Oh, very proud from a golden cloud you'll stride in your crown and wings,  
Till you hear my little earthly laugh from behind my gold harpstrings;  
And you'll lay your gemmed theorbo down on the nearest star or moon,  
And carry me off on a comet's back for a long, wild afternoon;

And while we're lashing the comet up till it misses St. Michael's Way,  
And laugh to think how the seraphs blink, and what the good saints will say,  
We'll heave a little sigh of content—or a wistful one, maybe—

To know that I never can marry you, and you never can marry me!

—From the *Bellman*.

♦♦♦

Widower—I suppose that when you recall what a handsome man your first husband was you wouldn't consider me for a minute? Widow—Oh, yes, I would. But I wouldn't consider you for a second.—*Orange Peel*.

♦♦♦

"Shakespeare suggests that we grapple our friends to us with hooks of steel." "Or we might tie them to us with ropes of pearls," commented the pretty actress.—*Louisville Courier-Journal*.



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WILLIAM M. REEDY, Editor and Proprietor

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## Reflections

By William Marion Reedy

*There'll be a League of Nations*

MORE than enough has been written about the peace conference prior to its getting down to business. Now, soon, we shall probably have some news, as distinct from speculation, to write on. The first thing up will be the League of Nations, for which we are told there are forty prospects to be considered. The resultant will probably be a compromise, but the one thing certain is that in its main outlines it will consist with the world-widely proclaimed principles of President Wilson. It will not be a perfect combination of areopagus and international police force. The nations will not put off their mail and beat their brands to dust. We need not look for immediate disarmament or for Germany to be given the right hand of fellowship until she shall have brought forth fruits meet for repentance. The nations will trust in pledged faith but keep their powder dry and their navies as going concerns. They will not give all their fate into the keeping of the League. The League will have to be an alliance until Germany can be taken in. The League will have to come to the Wilson plan, for the alternative is that its greatest members will have to reckon with our fleet and they want no more of such naval competition. That the President will carry all his fourteen points in their pristine purity is hardly probable, but he will carry most of them, because the responsible men of the other nations have publicly agreed to them. The people have told their servants that the President's peace is what they want, and the people nowadays are not to be denied their will against more war. The League of Nations is a settled fact, but being human it will not be all every optimist has expected. After that has been set forth as principle the other issues will be considered. They range from Spitzbergen to the Australasian seas, from Kiaou Chiaou in China to Peru and Chile, from Persia to Alsace-Lorraine, from little enclaves in Hungary to the Republic of Liberia, to say nothing of various irredenta of Greece, Jugo-Slavia and Italy. They will have to be settled on the principle of self-determination, modified by "accomplished fact." The outcome will probably be about that of processes of court, more one of law than of absolute justice all around. The fourteen points will declare the principle. The decisions will be made to fit the principle so far as humanly possible. And Germany will be made to pay for the evil she has done. There is nothing in the fourteen points to negative that. Why am I so hopeful of the outcome? Because the peoples want no more war. They want that more than national interests want colonies or imperial glory. All things point to an honest effort of the conference to minimize the possibility of war. All things in the situation point to repudiation of those who say that a peace league of nations is not worth even trying for. The conference will try and Wilson's plan is the plan from which all the thirty-nine others stem. It will be the soul and largely the body of the document that shall endeavor to give effect to the hope of the world.

♦♦

WE ARE all talking about public memorials of our soldiers. It occurred to me the other day, in looking over the collection of beautiful portraits exhibited in the Kocian galleries on Locust street, by Mr. Alyn Williams, president of the Royal Society

of Miniature Painters, that there is no private memento of heroes or others beloved that has such charm as the mellowly glowing miniature. There's a tenderness of delicacy in this art unknown to any other. The little portrait in water color on ivory or vellum has a quality of intimacy that enhances the beauty of its gemlikeness. The miniature is essentially idealized because it owes its existence to the prompting of affection. Mr. Williams is supreme in this form of art. His work wears well the epithet, lovely.

♦♦

O WHAT a jag there will be in this country on the night of June 30th, 1919!

♦♦

ST. LOUISANS have an added reason to rejoice the war is over. They have been permitted to enjoy, after long deprivation, some high art mimetic. It is good for the soul to see and hear in plays of sane comedic value in one week artists like William Faversham, Maxine Elliott and Ethel Barrymore. May our theatres give us more of such.

♦♦

### Those Verbal Contracts

THOSE word-of-honor war contracts between the government's representatives and certain big concerns—what about them? We know that in the immediacy of apparent need many such contracts must have been made. Contractors went ahead with costly preparation that could not well be stopped without heavy loss upon the signing of the armistice. The contractors should not be made to stand that loss. But their contracts should not be validated upon the mere assertion of some government subordinate that such contracts existed. There is too much temptation to collusive agreement. All claims under such contracts should be proved up before a court or board or commission. Of course congress will provide for this method of dealing with such cases. The opportunities for huge graft are many. They must be eliminated. If they are not the waste of \$34,000,000 at the Hog Island ship yard will be only a trifle compared with the rake-off on contracts more or less imaginary.

♦♦

### Beginning to See Russia

LORD NORTHCLIFFE suggests the appointment of a commission to find out the truth about the Bolshevik regime in Russia and he would have Arthur Ransome and Raymond Robins on the commission. Messrs. Ransome and Robins are sympathetic to the Bolsheviks. They do not condone or apologize atrocities or massacres, if such occurred in the way or to the extent that the reactionaries say. They aver that the Bolsheviks have a going government and a fairly good one. Neither Ransome nor Robins believes that Lenine and Trotzky were the tools of the German high command. Both of the men were on the scene in Russia. Lord Northcliffe's suggestion may not be adopted, but nevertheless it indicates a change of attitude in high places in Great Britain towards Russia. It accords with the statement that the Bolsheviks may be given representation at the peace conference. That they should be so recognized is only just. It would be unfair to bar them when their enemies are admitted. The Russian reactionaries, czarist and others, are well represented at Paris. They should not be permitted to influence the conference by uncontroverted representations. It is desirable that the Bolsheviks be heard for their cause. Such recognition by the conference would accord with the idea that it is a peoples' peace that is to be framed. It would come



fortuitously with the decision of the Allies and this country to pursue military intervention in Russia no further. There is an intimation that the Soviet will rescind the repudiation of the national debt and respect foreign interests in Russia. Foreign interests here meaning all interests imperiled by threatened German commercial monopoly, such as apparently was exacted by the Berlin high command in certain of the Sisson documents. The Soviet wants to show that it governs and that it is not a slaughter house and that it is entitled to share in the food distribution by the Allies. Lord Northcliffe's idea of a commission is that it can find out enough to enable the conference to judge of internal conditions in Russia on other grounds than the highly colored reports of Bolshephobists. The commission's report would be a survey upon which a tentative recognition of the Bolshevik government could be based.

♦♦

#### *Germany Cools Off*

GERMANY isn't going radical by an overwhelming majority. It seems that the bourgeoisie are gradually gaining the upper hand. The people are more commonsensical than the Russians. More of them have something to lose by disorder. More of them have something to gain by refraining from extremism. They don't like a mess. They want peace, not riot and internecine war. Gradually it seems there will emerge a government or maybe governments with which the Allies can conclude peace terms. All the recent cable news indicates that the Spartacans cannot muster enough strength to dislodge the moderates from control. Those moderates gather more strength as the people learn that the Allies are going to supply them with food. The sober, disciplined tendency in Germany is towards republicanism rather than communism. Out-and-out socialism has not been as strong in Germany as many have believed. There were big socialist votes before the war, but they were votes of people who had no other way of protest against other parties. Much German socialism was nothing more than what we call democracy. And a good deal of it was no more than the desire for an extension of the provisions for material well-being by a paternal administration. This conservative socialism apparently cannot be swept off its feet by the Liebknechts, Rosa Luxemburges, Ledebours and others. Subject to correction by later facts, it seems that Germany is cooling off. The more so as the victors in the war are not showing an inclination to crush the people. Those elements in Germany that seem most likely to be able to deal with the Allies for food and for other things come uppermost. There was little hope of lifting the blockade if the radicals gained control.

♦♦

CONGRESS votes the \$100,000,000 to feed Europe. It is the best way to check disorder over there. It is a good beginning, too, for a League of Nations, to get together in such a humane work. It is a way of getting peoples together, as distinct from nations. It is a splendid generator of good-will to replace suspicions and hatred.

♦♦

#### *Uncle Sam Smothered in Wheat*

WHAT about our wheat crop, with the prices guaranteed to June, 1920? The farmer is sure of his \$2.26 per bushel, so he plants and plants. If nobody else will buy, the government will take it off his hands. Walter Weyl says the government stands ready to buy ten to eleven hundred millions of bushels or more of the crop of 1919, and perhaps one or two hundred millions of bushels of the 1918 crop, losing 50 cents or \$1 or more on every bushel. The loss may be well over one billion dollars. The government will have to store the wheat. It will have to keep out foreign wheat. It will have more wheat than it needs. What will it do with a surplus of perhaps 500,000,000 bushels? The 1918 crop was in demand in Europe. It made no

trouble. We paid the price and Europe paid the price plus transportation. But the war stopped, leaving 240,000,000 of the 1918 bushels unsold. Europe may and will start raising wheat. Wheat is coming from Argentine, Australia, northern Africa. Will Europe take our wheat at the government price or turn to that other wheat, and if the latter, won't we have wheat on our hands in egregious superfluity? Mr. Hoover may help out by sending wheat to Belgium, France, the Balkans, even Germany and Austro-Hungary and Russia. That will keep down disorder and keep up the price of wheat so as to let the Grain Corporation out of its guaranty of the 1918 crop. But any that is left over the Grain Corporation must buy at \$2.26. Then comes the 1919 crop. That of 1918 was the largest ever, but one. The 1919 crop will surpass it. There's a chance against any other crop. Wheat is a cinch. It's sold before it's planted, to a customer who can't "bust." The stoppage of the war is the startage of wheat crops elsewhere. No matter how low this other wheat may sell, the American farmer will get his \$2.26 per bushel. So there's talk of a crop of 1,100,000,000 bushels, almost 500,000,000 bushels above requirements for home consumption and seed. Europe won't need all this wheat; she will have other sources of supply. During the three years ending in 1914, Russia, Argentine and Canada had a larger wheat export than ours. British India, Rumania and Australia had more than twice our export. Australia now has, it is said, an exportable surplus of 210,000,000 bushels of unspoiled wheat; Argentina, 60,000,000 bushels. There will be harvests in France and Italy and elsewhere, better than last year's. Mr. Weyl figures that, therefore, America cannot export much more than 100,000,000 bushels of her surplus. This will leave us on June 1st, 1920, with a surplus of possibly five or even six hundred millions of bushels, and in no case less than four hundred million bushels. We think that we supply the world's wheat all the time. We don't. During the three years ending 1914 all European countries (Allied, neutral and enemy) imported an average of 467,000,000 bushels (in the form of wheat and wheat flour), and during the same period the United States exported (net) an average of only 63,000,000 bushels, or less than one-eighth of the total (net) export of all the wheat-exporting countries of the world. Our total consumption is not much over 600,000,000, including seed; at the outside only 640,000,000 bushels. With a 400,000,000 surplus we shall note some paralysis upon future production. We have storage facilities for only 350,000,000 bushels. It will all be needed to care for the 1920 crop. What of the rest? Shall the wheat rot, unstored? Shall the government pay for wheat it does not receive? Shall the farmer burn the wheat and bill the Grain Corporation? How about the millers? They won't take wheat they don't need right away. They will wait for lower 1920 prices. Shall the government build elevators that will later be dead on its hands? It may use the cantonments and other structures. What will the government do with the hundreds of millions of surplus bushels, eventually? Throw them on the market regardless? That will make trouble. It will lower the farmers' price. Shall we try wheat valorization as Brazil tried coffee valorization, and fail? Shall we "dump" the wheat abroad at a price lower than at home? That would soak the consumer, *a la* protection. Mr. Weyl says the cost of maintaining our wheat price should be borne by the taxpayer, not by the bread-eater. But the taxpayer won't like to bear the loss of a billion dollars or more. The guaranty to the farmer is expensive, very. Mr. Weyl says that "when the minimum price was set for the 1918 crop, wheat prices were already declining and it would have been quite possible for the government to have regulated those prices by controlling export." But why worry about what might have been? What is concerns us now. We must take our loss. Who shall bear it? "Those capable of bearing it," says Mr. Weyl. But those

capable of bearing it are capable of shifting it upon others. No wonder that "our legislators or some of them, are secretly praying for frost, insects, parasite, fungi, for the ten plagues, for anything that will reduce the size of the coming crop."

♦♦

#### *Discontent in the Camps*

SPEAKING of the menace of Bolshevism, I should say that the government should take cognizance of the dangerous growth of discontent among the men in the cantonments over the delay in demobilization. Discipline is steadily disintegrating under the exasperation caused by the prevalence of the red tape system. The boys have no use for the army life, now that there is no prospect of a chance to fight. They want to get back to work. It is just as well, too, that the government should bear in mind that an ugly spirit grows throughout the country because of the complaint of soldiers abroad that they do not get their mail, that they do not receive their pay promptly. The failure of dependents to receive their allotments is another grievance widespread. Letters from the camps are full of maddened protest against stagnation, out of which may come an explosion. There is nothing more immediately important than that the boys should be got back to the jobs that are waiting for them. All this, of course, with regard to the very evident necessity that the men who have not jobs awaiting them should not be turned loose on the cities with pay in their pockets and time on their hands. It seems that the war department should get a swifter move on itself.

♦♦

#### *Drifting to City Ownership*

MAYOR Kiel has agreed to let an underlying franchise of one line of the United Railways of St. Louis stand unquestioned in consideration of the corporation's agreeing to pay the large sums of money due under the one-mill-per-passenger tax. The withdrawal of suit as to the franchise in question removes a cloud on the whole United Railways property which prevented the refinancing of the institution, admittedly in a deplorably bad way. The company can borrow money now to purchase new cars, lay new tracks and better the service generally. At least that is what Mayor Kiel has been led to believe. But even as the agreement of the city to quit questioning the Jefferson avenue franchise in consideration of the United Railways quitting its fight against the mill tax, is published, the corporation asks of the Public Utilities commission permission to increase the fare from six to seven cents. The fare was raised from five to six cents about six months ago. It seems that a six-cent fare doesn't pay. It may well be that the corporation, even with its now unclouded franchise on Jefferson avenue, will not be able to refinance itself into solvency unless it can collect that additional one cent fare. This means that the people who are expected to lend money to the United Railways won't lend it unless the company can tax the people for each ride two cents more than the city's contract permits the company to charge. And this means further that the people will have to pay in the increased fare not only the mill tax but the interest on the companies' securities, new and old. There are economists and railway experts who declare that even this won't save the corporation from bankruptcy, because the increase of fare to seven cents will result in a falling off in the number of passengers. The company will lose more than it will gain and be worse instead of better off. On this theory the agreement signed by Mayor Kiel does not stabilize the finances of the corporation, but makes them more precarious. Nor does it guarantee what the public most wants and needs—better service. The argument is strengthened for a receivership in the operation of which the water in the securities of the United Railways shall be eliminated. It is held that the company can make improvements and earn



money and pay the mill tax, too, on a five-cent fare, if the company has only to earn money upon an uninflated capitalization. Whether this be so, considering the added cost of operation in labor and materials, may be questioned by some. The company is entitled to a reasonable return upon its investment. The courts are beginning to take that view in cases like this one in St. Louis. But if the capitalization of the United Railways company is not to be reduced and the people are made to pay in higher fares the interest on a small ocean of water, the result is an outrageous injustice. This injustice will be no less because the power to grant increases of passenger fare is vested in a state commission rather than a local, municipal body. It may be said too that this agreement between Mayor Kiel and the United Railways would be more binding on the consciences of the citizens if it were subject to popular ratification. It is in effect an amendment of the franchise contracts between the city and the railway company and it should have been submitted to a referendum. No one wants to wreck the United Railways company, but there is a prospect that it will wreck itself, even if it should secure permission to increase the fare to seven cents and thus lose passengers in such number as to offset the added revenue from those who will continue to ride. If interest cannot be paid on old bonds surely it cannot be paid on new bonds too. And there is not likely soon to be any reduction in the cost of labor and material used in operation. A receivership would seem to be inevitable. And then if financiers can't operate the system profitably upon a fair capitalization at a reasonable rate of fare, the city will have to take over the property and operate it. The city now operates successfully a bigger enterprise—the water department. Now is the time to prepare for municipal ownership of the street railways of St. Louis. Apparently there is no other way out of the muddle into which the local transportation system has fallen.

♦♦

#### Prohibition Comes

RATIFICATION of the prohibition amendment to the national constitution is coming with a rush. The action of the necessary thirty-six states will be taken before this week's end. The country will go dry on June 30th and it will be drier than Ezekiel's bones. Then we shall see what we shall see. Among other things there will have to be an army of inspectors or agents or spotters to see that no one has any liquor in his home. There will be a grand revel and riot of the exercise of the right of visit and search. The citizen will find himself up against treatment like unto that administered now by the agents of the Department of Justice, who, under general blanket unspecified orders, enter a house, take what they want and leave their cards. The Reed bone-dry law has been held to prohibit the importation of liquor from one state to another for personal use—not even to give away at one's own table. Every householder will be at the mercy of the man with a booze search-warrant. What possibilities of blackmail are inherent in such a condition can easily be imagined. What the cost of administering prohibition will be, no one can tell. What will be the political effect of some hundreds of thousands of men holding jobs as snoopers and breath-smellers is a subject for interesting speculation. We shall live in a continuous misery of spies and informers and grafters. Malice will find prohibition a splendid tool for the accomplishment of its ends. Life will be poisoned worse than it has ever been poisoned by booze. But the dry wave comes on. There's no stopping it, seemingly. We might be the better resigned to it if we did not know that these legislative ratifications of the amendment were so largely voted by politicians who do not believe in prohibition, by men who do not care for the principle of the thing but are for it, often enough in a boozy stupor, solely because they think that by such action they can hold their jobs. For honest prohibitionists

we can have and do have all respect, but political prohibitionists are not invariably honest. They are hypocrites paying the tribute of vice to excess of virtue. I see that some liquor association, in an advertisement, calls prohibition Bolshevism. It is not that. It is the essence of Prussianism. It is the beginning of social regimentation. More than that, it is the beginning of a state religion, a theocracy with all that implies. Prohibition is the beginning of the end of free Americanism.

♦♦

#### A Rumor

I TELL the tale as 'twas told to me. Mr. William Gibbs McAdoo, late secretary of the treasury and director general of railroads, has gone into partnership with Henry Ford in the manufacture of farm and other tractors at the great munition plant at Nitro, W. Va. The plant is said to have been purchased by Mr. Ford.

♦♦

#### The Looming of Mr. Taft

POLITICAL quid nuncs are talking about the next Republican nominee for president, now that the overshadowing personality of Roosevelt is removed. Hiram Johnson of California was supposed to be the second choice of the Rooseveltians, but it is doubtful that he will be now. He's getting off the Republican reservation, with his demand for our withdrawal from Russia and for facts about our dealings with the Bolsheviks just prior to Brest-Litovsk. Johnson, by the way, must know what he wants, for he is a close friend of Raymond Robins, and Robins knows more about the Bolshevik appeal for aid at that time, than anybody. It seems to me that William Howard Taft is coming back. He has won not only the admiration of the country for his square stand for the support of President Wilson, but its affection for his magnanimity towards Roosevelt, who certainly manhandled him. Mr. Taft has made many friends in the labor ranks by his course, as joint chairman with Frank P. Walsh, on the War Labor board. Mr. Taft's wisdom and indeed his liberality are enforcing themselves upon public attention. He is in favor of a League of Nations to prevent war and he refuses to become a jingo simply to be in opposition. His attitude towards all questions is judicial. Neither in his writings nor in his speeches is he making a personal campaign on partisan lines. The public sees him as a publicist concerned chiefly to be fair and square. He grows in popular regard and makes a very attractive figure in public life; probably now the only one that comes anywhere near to competing for attention with that of Woodrow Wilson. With each passing day, Mr. Taft looks more and more like the next Republican candidate for president.

♦♦

#### Controlling Air Transport

WHILE the government is mulling over the question of what it is going to do with the railroads, it should not overlook the fact that something should be done about government control of aerial transportation. That should not be permitted to grow up under unregulated individual enterprise. Patently the government must look after aerial mail service, which will have to be rendered over air-lanes. Air craft freight will be a part of interstate commerce. Airships may be used to evade customs inspectors. They may play the deuce with the protective tariff. They will be used in the express business and in passenger traffic. There will probably be rate wars between rival routes, gentlemen's agreements, consolidations, trusts in violation of restraint of trade. Aerial lines will get into the rate question along with river and rail lines. There are incalculably numerous questions suggested as to rights of way over private property. There will be all kinds of trouble about terminals. Is anything being done at Washington to get control of aerial transportation before it gets so big that it may try to control the government? It seems not. Here's a subject worthy

the legislative attention of truly forward-looking men. For aerial transport is going to be a tremendous factor in the future, economic, social and political.

♦♦

#### A New Constitution

MISSOURI'S constitution was made in 1875. The state has outgrown it. The garment bursts at the seams in many places. Mending piecemeal is difficult. There is reason, therefore, in the demand for a new constitution to meet new conditions. Hence Governor Gardner suggests the assemblage of a convention to frame a new document. I do not see how one can oppose such a convention. It can only be done on the theory that the people have not sense enough to elect the right kind of men to the convention, or sense enough to reject a bad constitution framed by such men as they do elect. The determining power is the people's, and it is folly to assume that the people are not intelligent enough to know what is good for them, individually and collectively. That the special interests might control the convention to prepare a new constitution is true, but even if they did, the people would have the say so as to its adoption. They would hardly let any constitution get by that contained any grossly iniquitous provisions. They would not stand for the elimination of public control of legislation. They would beat any constitution that did not make some provision for more popular control of taxation. Any new constitution that did not provide for a large measure of home rule for the large cities would have small chance of adoption. The people will hardly see their control of primaries filched away from them. There is excellent prospect that from the progressive liberal point of view more good than evil would come out of the deliberations of a constitutional convention. Public discussion cannot but bring the good to the fore. Publicity is a preventive of evils. It is extremely doubtful that any reactionary constitution could be framed in these days, much less "put over" on the people. Let us have the constitutional convention. It will be our creature and there is no reason why we should be afraid of its outcome.

♦♦

#### Jobless Returned Soldiers

ARE the returned soldiers getting those jobs they were told would be held for them? One came in to see me the other day. He had just been to the office where he was employed before he entered the army. "We can't do anything for you just now," he was told, "but come around in about three or four weeks and maybe we can take you on." He said he couldn't wait three or four weeks and jobs are not plentiful. "Lots of other soldiers tell me they have the same experience," said the soldier. What with the boys out of the service who can't recover their old jobs and the boys in the service who can't secure their discharge in order to take jobs that are waiting for them, the arrangements for re-absorbing the men of the fighting forces into industry are in a frightful muddle. If the daily papers would tell the truth about this matter there would be some excitement and more indignation throughout the country. No official appears to have tried to do anything to clear the situation but Secretary of the Interior Lane, and congress manifests no disposition to speed up the work he calls for to put back on the land such soldiers as may want to go there. We shall have much trouble in the big cities before the winter is over because of jobless soldiers. "Too bad," say the hard and fast defenders of the administration, "that the war ended so suddenly that all the boys cannot be taken care of." But the time to have begun to take care of the boys' jobs upon their return was when and even before the boys went away.

♦♦

#### The Control of the Cables

HERE is an explanation of the seizure of the cables that comes to me by grapevine telegraph from



Washington. The thing was done under a compact with Great Britain and France to maintain a censorship until the peace treaty shall have been ratified. As there are a hundred matters that will come up for consideration in the conference, the cable control, and therefore the secrecy sought, may be continued for a year. Our government repudiates any intention to exercise a censorship, but newspapermen know that it is exercised. It has been said that France wants the news ban lifted, but Great Britain insists upon keeping it in operation. For one thing the censorship keeps us from learning very much about what may be going on in Ireland, India and Persia. This country's seizure of the cables was the only way to accomplish the object sought when at the signing of the armistice the American newspapers abandoned their voluntary censorship. The allies are said to have been desirous especially that there shouldn't be much dissemination of uncontrolled news from Russia and Germany concerning the revolutions, as that might start trouble among the proletariat in all other countries. Control of the cables gives a certain control of popular psychology. So it is that nothing comes over the cables but what is official or semi-official. The famous correspondents for the big papers, gathered in Paris, do not send any news. They indulge chiefly in opinionation profound enough but not authoritative. The papers might have spared the expense of those special correspondents. All the real news comes through the press associations and they are supplied by officials connected with the conference.



#### Lloyd George's New Government

PREMIER Lloyd George's new cabinet would seem to carry barely what the chemists call a trace of the old Liberalism. The government is pretty nearly High Tory. Such Liberals as there are in the list of holders of portfolios have coalesced with Toryism until they are indistinguishable from veteran members of the Primrose League. But the people of Great Britain are not Tory. They voted for the coalition on the khaki issue of sentiment. The war has liberalized Great Britain. Mr. Lloyd George's government may last until the peace treaty is signed, but I doubt it. The soldiers back in blighty and the men and women in the factories are not going to put up for long with government of, for and by the many interests that are controlled by the one Great Britain interest—the landlord interest. By the time the British masses get ready to turn out the conservatives it is not improbable that Mr. Lloyd George himself will be found to have broken away from the reactionaries. He coalesced only that there might be no division in the country pending the peace negotiations. It is doubtful if he could have won the election, even with coalition, if he had not taken for his own programme many of the reforms demanded by the broader Liberals and the Labor party. Lloyd George is an opportunist in the highest. He has often been thought to be "got" by one element or faction or another, but he never stays put. He manages to use the men who try to use him, and he addresses himself always to the job immediately in hand. Just now that job is the presentation of a united British front in the peace parleys, and it is significant that he stands for President Wilson's programme just as the labor people of Great Britain stand for it, as a *sine qua non* of the settlement. Judging Mr. Lloyd George on past form I should say that the Tories will find that they have not got him sewed up in their sack. However the little Welshman may turn and veer to get around obstacles he cannot get over or go through, he is essentially a man of the people. There are some big conservatives in his cabinet, but no bigger man than he. How devious soever his progress may appear, he knows where he is going and he is on his way. Old-time Liberals may suspect and denounce him for apparent desertion of their cause, but the people do not seem to distrust him.

They can still detect upon him the old-time tang of Limehouse. If he should fail in any important matter in the peace conference he would fall from power, but that does not seem probable just now. With the peace once settled the world may expect to see the Premier go back to that old programme of economic reform which was held up by the outbreak of the war. There's only one thing he certainly cannot settle: that is the Irish question. But he may find a way to let the Irish settle that question for themselves, which seems to be the only way it ever can be settled and settled right. The question, in fact, may be nearest solution now when the results of the recent election would indicate that it is utterly insoluble.



#### Sir Horace Plunkett on Ireland

SO THE Sinn Feiners elected to the British Parliament will not sit in that body, but will organize a government of their own, moving about from place to place in Ireland, to escape the constabulary or the soldiers of the Sassenach. Ireland will be practically unrepresented in the British Commons. That Great Britain will tolerate an independent government, however peripatetic, is not to be imagined, but what will the government do, outside of arresting the intransigents here and there? That will not pacify Ireland. Coercion was the cause of the Sinn Fein victory. Will the government exercise moral coercion even upon Ulster? It has never done so. It has never put any coercion upon Ulster, but Ulster has put it on the British government, and as Sir Horace Plunkett says in an interview in the *Christian Science Monitor*, the government has passed that moral coercion on to the rest of Ireland as physical coercion.

Sir Horace believes that the Irish question could have been settled in the crisis when, with the Allied cause in jeopardy, the Irish Conference report upon home rule was presented, if the government had called upon Ulster "to relieve the government of a pledge exacted at the hour of the Empire's peril by threat of civil war, and, in the highest interests of war and peace, to give a fair trial to an all-Ireland settlement. There could have been added, with the hearty accord of the South and West, any reasonable safeguards the northern community might demand for the protection of its special interests. This moral coercion would have been effective, because it would have been supported by democratic opinion throughout the world."

In this Sir Horace, the sanest man in Ireland, is in practical accord with George Bernard Shaw, the most fanciful Irishman living. But the sane Sir Horace talks now of a middle party in Ireland—as if there were not parties enough already. He wants a party of the "innocent bystanders," the people who are caught and injured between Ulster and Sinn Fein. He thinks these people could do something. They are the commercial and industrial classes. In the past they have organized for mutual protection in their several industrial and commercial undertakings; but they have never developed their organization to a point where, should the need arise, they could take effective political action. Such a need now exists, and it has not arisen only out of the alarming state of the country, but from the far more important reason that participation to a greater extent than ever before in Irish political affairs is urgently required by a tendency of world politics to which far too little attention has been given.

The world situation as it affects Ireland is thus outlined by the man who has done so much to modernize Irish agricultural industry: "At least nine-tenths of our products find a market in the United Kingdom. Most of the raw materials required in our industry are derived from the natural resources of the British Empire. At Westminster will be decided the allocation of these raw materials, which will presumably go first of all to the people of these

islands, next to their allies and neutrals; last to their former enemies. The state is now acting as wholesale merchant for most of the agricultural produce we export. It will probably continue to regulate shipping, and naturally will give priority of service to friendly communities. British capital and British goods will both be important factors in determining the part our west coast harbors are to play in making Ireland the gateway of the Old World to the New. If three-quarters of the people tainly cannot settle: that is the Irish question. But ish Parliament, the world will not credit us with either political or economic sense. The most ignorant peasant would regard such a policy as tantamount to staying away from a fair where his pigs and poultry were bought and sold."

How very sensible! But who of the Sinn Feiners cares for that. They remember Cromwell and the massacre at Drogheda and the penal laws, and Emmett and Wolfe Tone and their hearts do follow the mystic "Dark Rosaleen." And Orange Ireland is in panic fear of "Rome rule." To these fanatics, northern and southern, practical considerations count for little. They think only with their long ingrown passions. They are both right upon only one thing—that partition of Ireland, in its economic, social, educational, religious scope, is unthinkable. Only upon that could the extremists agree with Sir Horace's middle party. "No partition," each would say, "Ireland must be one, but it must be our own particular Ireland." They are the majority and they will have nothing to do with Sir Horace's "self-governing, united Ireland within the Empire." Neither side believes it possible to safeguard the interests of the whole, and not merely a part, of Ireland in all matters relating to national reconstruction. This last is what home rule has proposed, but Sinn Fein would have none of it and Ulster scorned the home rule measure and was ready to take up arms against its enforcement. Now Sinn Feiners propose a constituent assembly and resistance to all laws and taxes levied by parliament, while Ulster renews its pledge to the covenant of opposition *a l'outrance* to home rule. The middle party would appear to stand little chance of accomplishing anything. The government can't do anything by one-sided coercion—anything, that is, that will settle the question. Ireland's independence is out of the question, with Ulster against independence. There is no appeal that will avail with both sections in the interest of harmony. Really there's nothing for it, as Henry Seidel Canby says, in the *Atlantic*, but to let the Irish fight it out between themselves. The side that wins decisively can then establish such government as shall not constitute a menace to Great Britain. This last proviso is inescapable, in the logic of the situation, national and international.



#### Mr. Hearst's New Issue

THERE'S a lot of pep in William Randolph Hearst in spite of the exposures of his policy of circulation as superior to all things else. He calls upon the government to take over the Rockefeller and the Carnegie Foundations. Those institutions are not charitable, but political. Their funds give them vast political power. They have been caught appropriating money to defeat certain candidates for congress and to discredit the Hearst papers for their anti-plutocratic proclivities. Mr. Hearst comes out too for most drastic inheritance taxation, stopping short only of our fellow townsman, Harlan Eugene Read's proposal for the abolition of inheritance over \$100,000. This war upon inheritance is destined surely to gather strength. It is the way in which this country will try to effect what is strenuously demanded by certain elements in Great Britain, namely, the conscription of wealth. No matter what we may think of Hearst, there's substance to his criticism of the big foundations. There is too much money hidden away in them from the tax assessor



## More American Opinion

and collector. They have too much wealth that is only control of the production of others. There is too much unearned increment in them. Where there is so much wealth-power there is temptation to use it for political purposes coincident with the desires of the general interest of the wealthy classes. If the foundations vote money to defeat men for congress who do not appear to be patriotic to the taste of those who control the foundations, those institutions may use their aggregated money to defeat as unpatriotic candidates who favor government ownership, or single tax or proportional representation; or anything wealthy people may not like. Those foundations are too powerful to be uncontrolled. They may not strike us as dangerous when they make a fight upon Hearst's papers—if they did that—but they are dangerous in that they may fight anyone in politics from behind their charitable, philanthropic, scientific ambush. Mr. Hearst is right as to the foundations, in so far as he wants them curbed, but as to the government's taking them over—well, there's somewhat too much of a fad for governmental taking over. And Mr. Hearst would be right as to well nigh confiscatory inheritance taxes if only he limited his proposal to the taxing of all unearned wealth into the public treasury. However, Mr. Hearst is alive and kicking, and onerous as he often is, we sometimes can almost "love him for the enemies he has made."



### The Railroad Muddle

I CAN'T see anything wrong about the proposal of Mr. McAdoo, seconded by his successor as railroad director general, Mr. Walker D. Hines, that the country retain control of the railroads as a try-out of nationalization. Surely the roads cannot be taken out of such control, without incalculable confusion, in less than five years. Surely unitary railroading is not to be wholly abandoned, but should be perfected. Certainly the roads should not be, even if they could be, thrown back into the old competitive clutterment, with all its evils, admitted even by private owners. Those owners once wanted consolidation. They wanted all restrictions on combination removed. Now they have it, they don't want it. One suspects that what they want is the return of the properties with enormous sums of money guaranteed as earnings. They want the roads returned to them and the present high freight and passenger rates maintained. They fear that in a five-year tryout by the government those rates will surely come down. They won't want the roads on that basis. Therefore, they want the roads right now, with, of course, stupendous claims for compensation guarantees and all that sort of thing. The government administration of the roads came suddenly, but it has lasted long enough to have muddled inextricably all methods of separate management of properties. It will take at least five years to straighten out the tangle. But there will be no return to the old plan. The owners can't have their roads back as they had them before. The government has its hands in so deep that they will never be withdrawn. The cost all around of the government's keeping the roads will be worth while in what will be learned about the true inwardness of the railroad business as formerly and presently conducted. If government ownership is a bad thing the cost of the five-year experiment would be money well expended in keeping us out of ownership. If it is a good thing, the five years' experiment would teach the government how to operate the system. The roads cannot be demobilized with a stroke of the pen any more than the army. Here again a condition, not a theory, confronts the government. And we need not worry about the owners of the roads losing anything. They are protected in present circumstances. The public would like to have a demonstration for or against public ownership. The five-year period would furnish such a demonstration. Only one thing is sure about the future of the railroads: the old plan—never again.

ANOTHER letter titled as above, by the same writer, appeared in the Mirror of January 2. That one dealt chiefly with affairs domestic—free speech, prohibition, etc. This goes wider afield. The editor of the MIRROR does not see things altogether as does Mr. Putnam, but the editor of the MIRROR does believe that there isn't enough criticism of the administration policy, chiefly because the seized cables shape opinion in the presentation of the news. The editor heard a man rejoice the other day that now that Roosevelt is gone Wilson will have no opposition. The worst thing that can happen to Wilson and the country is the disappearance of vigorous opposition. Popular complaisance is a grave danger. We need Roosevelts, Putnams and Reeds.

Milwaukee, Wis., Jan. 10, 1919.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

I respectfully submit the following additional opinions upon current events:

The League of Nations: That it is being urged by the controlling class in the principal nations primarily as a means of collecting principal and interest of the war debts of the world; secondarily, as a means of enabling International Finance more easily and surely to control the production and distribution of new wealth—goods and commodities—throughout the world. That these practical aims are being camouflaged with preachments regarding the League's desirability as a means of preventing future wars between nations.

Whether it would be better or worse for mankind to have to pay these gigantic debts out of the product of its labor during the next century I am not wise enough to know—nor even to declare a positive opinion. My feeling is that it would be best for mankind if all the war debts of the nations could be canceled by agreement of the peoples, and a new start, with a clean slate, made by everybody. So strongly do I entertain this feeling that, although every dollar of capital I possess is invested in the war bonds of the United States, I should be glad to vote for the canceling of all of the world's war debts, if given an opportunity to do so. I am aware that, regarded as a business problem, it is one of enormous complexity; that such a step would involve widespread unsettling influences affecting every industrial and commercial process throughout the world. Yet I feel that after the thing had been done, and the pain of it borne, we should still find ourselves possessing the earth, still able to produce and distribute wealth, and enriched with a sense of relief from an intolerable burden. On the other hand, it is perhaps best for mankind in the long run that in this as in all previous stages of human history, human crimes and blunders should be paid for in expiatory toil—as the only way humanity can acquire intelligence.

It seems to me that the issue dividing the old world in which we all dwelt prior to 1914, and the new world which the risen serfs of Eastern Europe and the Central Empires are now trying to bring into being, is roughly suggested in the preceding paragraph.

I have no doubt that International Finance—more real and more powerful than any political government—is actively at work in the Peace Congress preliminaries, in banking and business associations, in such portion of the world's newspaper press as it controls, and in various other seen and unseen ways, doing its utmost to produce a peace treaty under which mankind will be pledged to pay out of its future labor proceeds, the principal and interest of all of the national war debts, including those of czarist Russia and imperial Germany and Austria-Hungary. Mind I say "pledged." Whether mankind, if so pledged by its largely self-appointed representatives at the peace-making, will thereafter meekly submit to bear the burden of that pledge, only time can tell. My own guess is that humanity, if so pledged without its knowledge or consent, will soon take charge of its political governments and cast off the burden.

I have lately seen in print sober discussion by leading American bankers of a proposal—one of those "feelers" from time to time put forth in the press in behalf of great politicians and of International Finance—that the Peace Congress should arrange a plan for pooling all of the war debts of the Allied countries, including the United States of America, so that the total debt of these countries should be repaid on equal terms by all of the citizens or subjects of the governments so associated. It has been proposed not that the division should be made on a flat population basis, but that this basis shall be "corrected," as the engineers say, to take into account also the relative wealth of the several associated countries and the comparative ability of the average citizen of each to contribute to the payment of the total war debt. Under such a plan, the portion of the total Allied national war debt which would be allocated to the United States would greatly exceed not merely our actual war debt, but would still more emphatically exceed, in the average share allocated to each American citizen, the average share allocated to the average citizen of Great

Britain, of France, of Russia, of Belgium, of Serbia, of Italy, and of Rumania.

When I state that it is the apparent purpose of International Finance to provide, if it can, through a League of Nations for the payment of principal and interest of the war debts of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, as well as of the Allied countries, I draw my conclusion from the evident desire of International Finance to suppress in Russia, in Germany, in Austria-Hungary and in Bulgaria, as well as in the Allied countries, those elements of the population which are trying to establish new political governments pledged to repudiation of war debts, to occupancy and use as the only just titles for holding land, and to numerous other radical proposals. It appears to be the purpose of International Finance, speaking through the statesmen who obviously represent its desires, to impose upon the conquered countries, and upon Russia, political governments which may be depended upon to enforce payment of the war debts, to facilitate the completer mastery of international commerce by the present ruling class, and in general to retain as completely as possible the organization of the social order which existed throughout the world prior to 1914.

It occurs to me as desirable, and I venture to suggest it, that newspaper editors who read Reedy's Mirror, or so many of them as may be free to do so, can serve their country well by encouraging public discussion of these almost wholly suppressed factors in the news of the time. I am fifty years old. I have been an interested student of and an active participant in American politics for thirty of those years, in the Atlantic coast region, the South, the Pacific coast section and the Northern States. I have found that my mental and emotional reactions to current political and economic proposals of major interest were as a rule substantially like those of the majority of my fellow citizens. If I have sometimes—as in this instance—"seen things coming" a little earlier than others, it is perhaps because the nature of my employment required me to look ahead and see what was coming.

I oppose the formation of a League of Nations by governments which are controlled by the present ruling class—which means, in the main, by International Finance. I oppose such a League because I believe that if it achieved real power to enforce its decisions, it would make and enforce decisions preventing any further advancement of humanity, anywhere on earth, upon the long forward road toward genuine democracy. It would be primarily interested, as the governments which seek to create it are now primarily interested, in maintaining the status quo—things as they are; and it would be able to oppose any change in any country with the armed forces of all the countries members of the League. We are gradually losing, in our own country, all of those rights and privileges of local self-government which were once our chief pride and our chief distinction in contrast with other, older countries ruled by centralized bureaucracies, oligarchies and semi-despotisms. I challenge the whole process of extinguishing local self-government and substituting for it federalized and centralized absentee rule as one subversive of the American Constitution, and as a deadly betrayal of American liberties.

I hope and pray that there may be found in the senate of the United States a sufficient number of men wise enough and brave enough, and patriotic enough, to reject any treaty submitted by the World Peace Congress which may attempt to barter away this country's right of self-determination in ALL particulars, in exchange for the dubious privilege of strengthening the present control of International Finance upon the lives, the labor product and the liberty of the masses of mankind. I entertain no doubt whatever that, should any such treaty be reported to the American senate, and approved by that body, the men and the parties responsible for such action would be swept into political oblivion at the next succeeding general election.

FRANK PUTNAM.



## Archimedes

By John L. Hervey

Marcellus, when at last the city fell,  
Charged that my person be inviolate,  
Saying: "Let reverence be shown the great  
Old man whose wonder-working brain so well  
Withstood the might of Rome; for if they tell  
Me truly, these three years he fended fate  
From Syracuse by force he could create  
From nature's elements, not by some spell  
Of wizardry but science recondite  
That navies burnt and armies put to flight.  
For Archimedes Rome hath honor only!"

What recked the legionary who my lonely  
Tower invaded and slew me on the spot,  
Of Science, or the sanctity of Thought?



## Vicente Blasco Ibañez

By Mariano Joaquin Lorente

THE fact that many of Vicente Blasco Ibañez' books have been translated into no less than seven European languages, speaks eloquently as to the literary quality of this famous Spaniard's works, but by far the highest recommendation of his books was given him by a Muscovite publisher who, previous to the war, brought out a complete edition of his works translated into Russian.

When we consider that Russia occupies one of the leading places in the world of letters, we naturally assume that Blasco Ibañez must be a first class author, else his books would not have been offered to the Russian public *in toto*. For the complete edition of which we have spoken is not the freakish venture of a quixotic publisher. Far from it. Blasco Ibañez' books had been translated into Russian singly and published throughout a number of years in Petrograd, so that the Moscow publisher knew perfectly well what he was about when he brought out the complete edition.

French publishers have not taken so kindly to Blasco Ibañez, still they have translated half of his books, and this again is a striking testimonial to the Spaniard's literary powers.

The success of Blasco Ibañez' works in France is readily attributed by some of his critics to the similarity of his style to those of certain French masters,—Zola, for instance. For our part, we fail to see any such resemblance. But why are the Russians so fond of Blasco Ibañez? Does he resemble Turgenev, or Tolstoi, or Dostoevsky? No one, so far, has ventured this opinion, though one critic has already called him "the Verestchagin of the modern war novel." Again, our opinion is that Blasco Ibañez no more resembles the Russian writers than he does the French. Of course, critics of the small-toothed-comb variety are bound to find points of similarity between one author and another. It could not be otherwise in times like ours when intellectual intercourse has practically no barriers to surmount, and more especially in the case of Blasco Ibañez, who is an omnivorous and voracious reader. But those are trifles which do not in the least affect Blasco Ibañez' literary nationality. He is a Spaniard through and through.

Blasco Ibañez, like most Spanish writers, and for that matter like those of other countries too, was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. His earlier years were a continual struggle for existence in which he made a close acquaintance with poverty and even hunger. He followed many trades and occupied, after a hard hunt, minor clerical positions, and by dint of hard work and industry managed to make himself known in his native town of Valencia.

When we have said that Blasco Ibañez is a Spaniard, we have said that he is a politician, for the two words are synonymous. Be it understood, however, that the politician in Spain is vastly different from the politician in these United States of ours. Your Spaniard takes his politics as politics should really be taken, namely, very seriously. To the Spaniard politics is a matter of life and death. Many a friendly party at a table of a café is suddenly brought to an unhappy end, with smashing of glasses and splitting of heads, all over some trifling difference of political opinion. This fondness of the Spaniard for politics the illustrious Perez Galdos has masterfully exemplified in one of his "Episodios Nacionales," wherein a man who neither held nor had the faintest hope of holding office spends all his time at the café discussing politics while his family is shamefully neglected, and so absorbed is he in pondering on the international, as well as national complications which might result from the intended marriage of a Bourbon princeling, that he pays no attention to one of his marriageable daughters and the poor girl is shamefully ruined

by a young man who was a friend of the family.

Blasco Ibañez, then, is a politician, though considerably saner than the example we have cited. Politics brought Blasco Ibañez into prominence among his fellow townsmen and his advanced ideas landed him in gaol, sent him into exile and gave him a place in the Cortes. Three excellent places for a man like Blasco Ibañez, for from the former two he obtained varied and invaluable experiences which have stood him in good stead ever since, and in the latter place he did yeoman service for his native country as leader of the radicals.

While he was actively engaged in political warfare, and in spite of the vicissitudes that went with it, Blasco Ibañez found time to do an immense amount of literary work. He wrote numberless political pamphlets and articles for the radical papers, founded and still edits a paper in Valencia, and became interested in a publishing firm which has been the means of introducing into Spain what is more instructive or interesting in the literatures of other countries. Some of the publications of this firm—Prometeo, of Valencia—bear witness to the indefatigable energy of this extraordinary man. Such are the "New Universal History," by Lavisce and Rambaud, of which ten volumes have thus far been published; the "History of the French Revolution," by Michelet, in three volumes; the "New Universal Geography," by Reclus; "The Thousand Nights and One Night," all of them translated by Blasco Ibañez. The same firm is now publishing a monumental "History of the European War of 1914," from the pen of Blasco Ibañez. Six ponderous tomes of this work have already been published.

The labors we have enumerated were enough to keep an ordinary Hercules busy for a lifetime, yet, such is the terrific activity of this remarkable genius that he has managed to write, in his spare moments, as it were, no less than sixteen novels, three volumes of more or less short stories and three of travel. And he is barely over fifty!

Though Blasco Ibañez' political work has greatly influenced the destinies of Spain, his has not been a spectacular career and his fame as a politician would be short-lived even if his literary renown did not totally eclipse it. He has become one of the foremost writers of the world and it is as a novelist that we propose to deal with Blasco Ibañez; for, whereas the politician has to act and write on the spur of the moment, adapting himself to circumstances and audiences which, on many occasions, force him to conceal his true self, the novelist, in the quietude and seclusion of his study, pours out his inmost thoughts and bares his soul to his readers.

The novels of Blasco Ibañez may be divided into several groups: the *novelas de la tierra*, or provincial novels, the political and propagandist novels, the historical novels, the psychological novels and, finally, those that do not belong to any of the other groups we have mentioned. These divisions follow fairly closely, as we have named them, the chronology of the novels. Of course, the grouping cannot be a hard and fast one since, above all, Blasco Ibañez is a radical; he is also a psychologist and therefore all his books are more or less permeated with advanced political ideas and display a penchant for psychology.

The *novelas de la tierra*, of which "La Barraca" is the finest, deal with his native land of Valencia. In them Blasco Ibañez follows the example of other Spanish authors who have devoted several books to their own particular corner of the peninsula. For this they have been severely called to task by purblind English critics who have dubbed them provincial, forgetful of the fact that by far the best English novels are those that deal with particular districts of the "right little, tight little island." Which fact is perfectly natural, for the best writer is he who knows whereof he is speaking, and there

is no spot an author knows so well as his own native country. Your perambulating modern author is often guilty of many incongruities and errors of judgment arising from his lack of familiarity with his subject.

In the *novelas de la tierra*, then, Blasco Ibañez portrays the ancient kingdom of Valencia and its inhabitants. His descriptions are colorful and throbbing with life. Blasco Ibañez is no jingo and he therefore portrays his countrymen without over-praising their virtues or concealing—far less condoning—their vices.

The politico-propagandist novels are of two kinds: those in which the author preaches a sermon and those in which he merely exposes a social evil, be it economical or moral. The best example of the former is "La Catedral" in which Gabriel Luna, a socialist who has suffered persecution in many lands, returns home a physical wreck and seeks shelter with some relatives who live in the cathedral at Toledo. By his preachments, Luna attempts to convert the inmates of the architectural pile to his doctrines. Some of them—like a good many people in our country, who ought to know better—mistake socialism for robbery and finally murder their teacher while he is trying to prevent them from stealing some sacred jewels. Of the second kind, the best example is "Sangre y Arena," a merciless exposure of the evils of bull fighting, all the more merciless because it is a literary masterpiece. The realism of this book, though somewhat too realistic at times, has never been surpassed. Incidentally, "Sangre y Arena" is an invaluable book to those who desire lucid and authoritative information on the subject of bull-fighting.

Of the psychological novels, which fortunately are few, the more readable is "La Maja Desnuda," in which Blasco Ibañez attempts to study with microscopic minuteness the soul of a painter. For reasons which we will state later on, Blasco Ibañez is an unqualified failure at this kind of novels.

The historical novels include "Sonnica la Corte-sana," which deals with the siege of Saguntum by the Carthaginians, and—it is a far cry from the Carthaginians to the modern Huns—"Los Cuatro Jinetes del Apocalipsis" and "Mare Nostrum" which treat respectively of the early stages of the war just ended and of submarine warfare as carried on by the Germans.

We have already said that Blasco Ibañez is a failure when he attempts the psychology of an individual. To this fault of his—by no means a vital one—we must add another defect. Blasco Ibañez lacks a sense of humor, and these two flaws in his literary cast we attribute to the political ideas which have taken possession of his mind. They undoubtedly have led him to look upon mankind as a whole. He has always dealt with the masses and his mind's eye cannot readjust its focus when he comes to consider one single individual. His characterization, therefore, is generally at fault. There is a weakness, a certain want of something or other in all his characters and when, as in "La Maja Desnuda," he devotes a whole book to one single man the result is failure. But when in "La Barraca" or "La Horda," and to a certain extent in "Sangre y Arena," he portrays a whole people, then Blasco Ibañez the psychologist is at his best.

His lack of humor is mainly due to the fact that life is a grim reality to him. The radical reformer is so obsessed with the evils which afflict mankind that he cannot bring himself to laugh at anything. The only humorous character that we can think of in all his books is the debauched ex-policeman who acted as a model—from the neck down—for a second rate artist who specialized in pictures of saints and angels.

The faults we have mentioned, faults which would wreck the literary career of an ordinary author, become minor imperfections when viewed in the light of Blasco Ibañez' unquestionable merits. He is a



powerful writer whose dynamic personality electrifies his readers. If his mind's eye be limited in focal length, his physical one suffers from no such restriction. Hence his descriptions are marvelously lucid and their limpidity is equally good whether the picture he presents be preraphaelitic in its details or panoramic in its compass. Nor does his physical eye suffer from any Daltonism. Like the true artist he is, he knows all possible combinations and shades of colors and uses them most effectively, imparting to his pictures a realism which is fascinating by its warmth of feeling. *La Huerta*—the neighborhood of Valencia—in "*La Barraca*," the processions during Holy week in Seville and the bullfights in "*Sangre y Arena*," the Argentine Pampas and the Marne in "*Los Cuatro Jinetes del Apocalipsis*" are so many pictures of majestic grandeur and astonishing realism. The descriptions of the battle of the Marne and of the trenches, with the intervening No-man's-land, could hardly be surpassed by any living writer and no student of the war should fail to read them if he wishes to obtain an adequate idea of the gruesome side of war.

Blasco Ibañez' style has undergone a considerable change with the years. In his earlier works, which happen to be his novels of Valencia, it has charming simplicity and supple elegance. Each phrase is a master stroke, each paragraph a finished picture. But in his latter works he displays an ever increasing tendency to elaboration, his phrases lengthen, his paragraphs become overlaid with redundant words. Again and again he touches upon certain details which could very well be disposed of in a few words.

Taking each novel by itself, we find them growing larger and larger in each succeeding volume. "*La Barraca*," which covers a considerable period of time, has only about half the number of pages that he requires to cross the Atlantic from Lisbon to Buenos Aires in his novel "*Los Argonautas*." The narrative, which in his earlier books flowed with the gracefulness and ease of a placid brook, is now impeded time and again by lengthy digressions in which Blasco Ibañez displays his monumental knowledge, and though these digressions are eminently readable, still they detract from the artistic value of a novel.

We can hardly blame Blasco Ibañez for his digressions. Were the essay as popular in Spain as it is in England or in this country, he would in all probability have pruned his novels of these digressions and incorporated them into one or more volumes. Some of them are veritable *copulativi*. Nothing at once so stimulating and illuminating has been written on the much-written-about Columbus as Blasco Ibañez' digression on the discoverer of America in "*Los Argonautas*," and nothing has been written on oceanography as entertaining as the paragraphs relating to the sea in "*Mare Nostrum*." But the essay is not popular in Spain and he finds himself forced to resort to digressions.

In spite of the faults which mar some of Blasco Ibañez' works, they are none the less worthy of a man of genius and they in no way can detract from the unexcelled merit of "*La Barraca*," "*Sangre y Arena*" and some of his earlier works. And surely, we are not entitled to demand from an author more than half a dozen masterpieces.

Blasco Ibañez has been very unfortunate with his English and American translators. "*Sangre y Arena*," "*La Catedral*," and "*Sonnica*," were translated into English some years ago, the first two both in England and America, the third in America, but, owing no doubt to the miserable quality of the translations, they failed to create a sensation.

Due to the pre-war interest in things Spanish, a New York publisher brought out, some time ago, a translation of "*La Barraca*," and one of "*Los Cuatro Jinetes del Apocalipsis*" ("*The Four Horse-*

men of the Apocalypse"), has recently been published by E. P. Dutton & Co (New York). The nature of the latter book, with its magnificent war pictures and its decidedly pro-ally tendencies, is such as to have withstood successfully the deplorably faulty translation that has been made of it, and the success of this book bids fair to establish firmly the name of Blasco Ibañez in this country. The unqualified success of "*Los Cuatro Jinetes del Apocalipsis*" has encouraged other publishers, and another translation of "*Sonnica la Cortesana*" has already issued from the press and will soon be followed by one of "*Mare Nostrum*."

Now that American publishers are finding Blasco Ibañez' books rather lucrative, they should do him the courtesy of selecting better translators for his works than the miserably underpaid hacks who thus far have been disfiguring his masterpieces. This is something they owe, not only to the author, but to the generous and highly discriminating American reading public.



## Occasional Observations

By Horace Flack

### II. The Habit of Hope in Ancient and Modern Times

PRONOUNCE the word "beauty" very softly, holding the first syllable as if you loved it. Repeat it still more softly and drop the "ty." Then, probably, you will have come close to the word for "God" in use in the oldest language of which anything is known or guessed, as it was spoken in the vicinity of the Garden of Eden, before men learned to babble at Babel or elsewhere in that part of the earth.

So, if we were to quote: "The earth is full of beauty when the heart is full of love," we might be saying unconsciously that the earth is, in that case, divine. And probably, if we say the "earth is beautiful in its seasons," we are accounting for this on the theory that God made it.

I hold that as a conclusion on the evidence. To me a beautiful earth is a divine earth.

It may seem most divine after its worst bitterness, as far as nature is responsible for this worst bitterness. I remember "most religiously" a morning after I had faced the "bitterest wind" from the Northwest, driving the sleet in my face until I found it almost intolerable. As the sun rose clear the next morning, with every tree glittering with ice-crystals, I saw a single spot of scarlet on the topmost branch of an ice-covered oak. I knew already that it was the American redbird, for in that icy cold, he was "singing his heart out" to greet the sunrise. No other bird is brave enough for such a song at such a time.

If those who "enter into the treasures of the snow" find them "inexpressibly beautiful," and if this means that they are divine, the courage of a redbird, singing to the sunrise, with the thermometer far below freezing, is not less beautiful, not less divine.

I have seen the hills in bloom in May without uncovering my head. So perhaps I am not "unduly sentimental" in my religious nature. But passing in October along a familiar path I had seen lately in its commonplaceness, the change as the morning sun shone through the roadside hedge of sassafras, wild cherry and sumac expressed something far above anything human in me. That "something" the worst bitterness of life had not suppressed in me, so moved me, that before I "had time to think," my head was uncovered and I was thanking God for it.

If this is a confession, I may make it, and explain that when afterwards I did begin to think, it was to conclude that if the "beau" in "beauty" is divine, the same first syllable in the word may mean also

"the creator,"—the builder of everything, which, being good in itself, cannot change, except into something better.

As God made the earth beautiful that it might show its divine origin, this message may come into the minds of men even when they are most savage, most ferocious, most nearly under the complete control of everything which makes for destruction. Since the oldest times, men have been so moved by the beauty of the earth as to be "carried out of themselves" in the attempt to put it into words. In words which come from the oldest times we know of, there is often a beauty which is as far beyond the meaning of the words themselves as the song of the redbird after a February storm is beyond expression in words. It is beautiful with hope and courage which does not surrender the best when the worst in the nature of men on earth is in most nearly complete control. And as this quality of the highest order in human language makes it inexpressibly beautiful, to me that also is divine,—though it may come from heathen who lived among savages.

I do not mean to condemn savages. I suppose that I have in my own mind and soul, struggling always for expression at its worst, every impulse which ever moved any savage to do his own worst in destructiveness. If I do not boast, I do not deny my savagery. I do not repudiate my kinship with "common humanity" as it has been in all its generations, and as it is still. But in my kinship with common humanity, as its best belongs to the divine order of beauty on earth, I claim the right to uncover my head as the sun sets below clouds in August or shines in rising through a thicket of red oaks in late October.

The earth is beautiful in its seasons, and being so is divine,—full to overflowing with divine ideas, which mean "creativity" beyond anything it has yet been given us to imagine. When we are no longer savage, when we can no longer use our highest powers of creation to increase destruction, we will know and realize the laws of order in a divine earth, so that as part of the order of our minds, they will be under our control, for every purpose of beauty and of goodness.

I know nothing else that I so surely know as this. The Latin for it is "*Lex, lux!*" If it ever fails, the earth fails with it. I am in awe of it, for it is the "*Torah*," the "Law." And the Law is the "Door" of life, of beauty and of power. With the earth at worst in human nature, it is a "divine earth" in which always we may hope for the inexpressible. And there is nothing stronger on a divine earth than hope and the courage it gives.



## The Red Seas

By Louis Untermeyer

CEASE your eternal washing; do not try  
To rinse your green hands of their muddy  
stain.  
Wash till the ocean's depths are wrung and dry,  
You never can be clean again.

Water can never cleanse your evil heart  
Of the vast treachery and merciless plan;  
Not all the waves have washed away one part  
Of your black enmity to man.

You have grown foul with slime and poisonous  
breaths,  
An overrunning sore, a reeking space  
Of bloody burials and dirty deaths—  
You are the striving earth's disgrace.

These ineffectual washings and the moans  
Of mock repentance will not trick the slain.  
Stop the pretense; fondle your filth and bones—  
You never can be clean again.



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## Letters from the People

### Lower Fares for Preachers

Denver, Colo., Jan. 6, 1919.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

Not long ago I read that Bishop Johnson of Colorado, speaking at a woman's Club meeting, advised the whipping-post for wife deserters.

But another, and far more serious sign of retrogression, is in the fact that "Ministers Are Granted Half Railroad Fare."

A good many times when I have been asked if I believed in "government ownership," I have replied that it depends on who owns the government. And now—if ministers are to own the government, I object decidedly to government ownership of anything.

This country has been supposedly the home of religious freedom, yet the tree of religious intolerance has never been thoroughly uprooted. The non-taxation of church property shows that church and state have never been completely separated. For myself, I do not complain. The church was, until the war broke out, a source of much help and comfort and when peace finally comes I hope to renew my attendance with the same profit. But that

does not appear to be a good reason for compelling those who have no use for churches to pay the churches' taxes. In Denver, where I live, some of the finest corners in the city are occupied by costly church buildings. Both the lots and the buildings are exempt from payment for fire and police protection and the other things for which taxes are levied by the municipality. The federal taxes being indirect and paid according to consumption do not affect the churches and so they escape altogether. It seems strange to me that those who oppose churches have allowed this wrong to go on with so little protest; but is it not equally strange that people who profess to believe in justice, as members of Christian churches claim to do, should connive at or consent to it? It seems a mean and beggarly thing to do.

We had much to suffer from a faithless church during the war. Professing to believe in the might of Spirit, the preachers were the ones to clamor loudest for the use of material weapons. And the irony of it is that, while they were howling hatred with all the strength of their bloodthirsty lungs, and urging men to take up the sword, they themselves, ministers actual and prospective, "divinity students," were

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exempt from "the duty of defending their country;" while "conscientious objectors" were shut up in prison. Could anything be more utterly absurd, illogical and unjust?

And now we are given another dose of church-and-state in the form of "half fares for ministers." What next, I wonder? After paying the churches' taxes for more than a century, after fighting their battles for them, after paying half their railroad fares, will not the common people begin to feel that these modern Pharisees, like those of old, "bind heavy burdens on men's shoulders and will not so much as touch them with one of their fingers?"

If one doubts that a heavy burden has been imposed on the people, let him consider carefully this list of half-fareites:

The special rates will be allowed to ordained or licensed ministers in charge of churches, assistant

pastors, ordained ministers of the supernumerary or superannuated class, ordained ministers having missionary appointments or acting as evangelists, officers of charitable organizations, editors of officially recognized church papers or financial agents for religious or charitable institutions, or holding general or national church offices or doing educational work under church direction, army and navy chaplains, evangelists, missionaries, Y. M. C. A., Salvation Army and W. C. T. U. workers, theological students and others meeting specified requirements for their respective classes.

It is estimated that there are nearly 200,000 clergymen of all denominations in the United States, and thousands of other religious workers belonging to the several classes to receive the special rates.

General James B. Weaver, Greenback congressman, had in one of his lectures a colloquy between a banker and the comptroller of the currency in



which the former asks, with a gasp, "Will the people stand it?" and the latter answers scornfully, "Stand it? They'll stand anything." And it certainly seems that way.

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.

### The Ballad of Stacker Lee

Washington, D. C., Jan. 7, 1919.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

Here are some verses of "Stack' Lee," as the negroes used to sing it in the Missouri penitentiary, in jails and on the St. Louis levee. The late Nat. C. Dryden, of Troy, Mo., defended Stacker Lee and I think the sentence was thirty years. Dryden, a brilliant man, died in 1896. Stacker Lee was released under the three-fourths rule about three or four years ago. The ballad contained about eighty stanzas; at least I have heard about that many.

W. D. M.

On one cold and stormy winter night  
Stack' Lee and Billy Lyons had an awful fight.

De-do-de-do-o-o-o,  
de-do-de-do-o-o.

P'liceman, p'liceman, what you think of  
that?

Stack' Lee killed Billy Lyons all over  
a Stetson hat.

(Cho.)

Stack' Lee, Stack' Lee, don't take my  
life,  
I got three chillun and a dear, lovin'  
wife.

(Cho.)

Next Monday morning preliminary was  
tried—

Don't be afraid, Stack, Nat Dryden's  
by your side.

(Cho.)

### Christian Science Theology

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE COMMITTEE  
ON PUBLICATION  
OF MISSOURI

1024 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis

January 11, 1919.

Editor Reedy's Mirror:

There are two points in your reflections regarding Christian Science, in the Mirror of the 3rd inst., that may mislead your readers. One is the implication that Christian Scientists must ignore evil to be consistent with their religion; the other, that they have suffered much from the prohibition of healing by their practitioners in various states of the Union. To deal with the latter first, let me say briefly that the practice of Christian Science healing has never been prohibited in any of the United States.

Ignoring evil is no part of the religious teaching of Christian Science. Christian Science teaches the possibility of deliverance from evil on the basis of the unreality of evil, and the reality of good. It does not concede to evil any greater reality than a mathematician concedes to an error in a problem in arithmetic. The error is not real, though the problem cannot be solved as long as it is undetected and uncorrected. The mathematician does not

solve the problem by ignoring the error, nor yet by regarding the mistake as a reality. He knows that it is an error and corrects it with the truth.

Mrs. Eddy has dealt with the problem of evil in much the same way in all her writings. Always denying its reality, on the basis of her understanding of the allness of God, good, she has made the demonstration of good the proof of the unreality of that which is not good. Writing in "Science and Health," page 480, she has said, "Where the spirit of God is, and there is no place where God is not, evil becomes nothing,—the opposite of the something of Spirit." Manifestly it could not become nothing, to human consciousness, if it were really something. Enlightenment could not supersede ignorance, harmony take the place of discord, the mind "which was also in Christ Jesus" supplant the human sense of things, if these opposites were both real. Christian Science healing rests on the fact that the good is true, the evil untrue. Mrs. Eddy makes a fair proposition in her book, "Retrospection and Introspection," page 62, when she writes, "Test Christian Science by its effects on society, and you will find that the views here set forth, as to the illusion of sin, sickness, and death—bring forth better fruits of health, righteousness, and Life, than a belief in their reality has ever done. A demonstration of the unreality of evil destroys evil."

Yours sincerely,

JOHN ASHCROFT,

Committee on Publication.

(The words in italics above are in italics in the book referred to.)

♦♦♦

### A Business Letter

[This letter is self-explanatory. It is from the successful head of a very successful business concern. It is of value as showing how this country can escape Bolshevism, and especially as indicating how business is in both the wrong church and the wrong pew.]

Detroit, December 23, 1918.

The American Exchange National Bank,  
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Of the much valued business letters you mail the trade, that of November 18, 1918, has this caption:

"SPECIAL LETTER"

"This letter is addressed to you in the hope that it contains some helpful suggestions for your consideration, and that we may in turn be favored with your valuable comment on any or all of the ideas projected."

We refrain from commenting on the other sections of your letter, to concentrate attention upon the two paragraphs on page three, which follow:

"It is noted in the responsible international press that among the laboring classes increasing manifestation of the spirit of unrest which is reported to find its genesis in the theory of the Bolsheviks, is becoming apparent. Should such manifestation appear in the United States during the period of the liquidation of labor, what, in your judgment, would be the logical, fair and just remedy?"

"When wages advance, the labor cost of the product increases and a percentage

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of profit is added to it by everyone through whose hands it passes. When the product is a common necessary of life, labor in the aggregate pays an average of 50 per cent more in added price than it receives in extra wages. What can be done to convince labor that it gains nothing from general increases in wages, when the retail prices of what it consumes advance still faster in all cases where the labor cost is the principal factor in the cost of production?"

Those who have opportunity of close view are convinced that the industrial class, both on the farms and in the cities, will not relinquish their present high wages and full employment, patiently. That the spirit of unrest you refer to will manifest itself increasingly and that unless something is done to clarify the situation or to avert distressful developments, a crisis with direful consequences will result, as is even now indicated by the numerous conferences and organizing events for resistance, now so active amongst the industrial classes.

With that in mind we have taken the liberty to make the following observations and hope they will receive your careful consideration, and if compatible with your policy, that you will communicate with us regarding the subject.

Unreason Makes Unrest. Class War Causes Chaos.

Is it true that the reconstruction war now starting will be a losing war for the liberal and forward-looking people? Possibly, judging from the present line-up, which may force the average citizen to choose between two dilemmas—to be a non-combatant, a pacifist in this vital fight where his liberty and

prosperity are the stake, or to enroll himself under one of two flags—either to him seems equally foreboding, each is of the extremist group. A class-conscious reactionary autocracy one extreme; a class-conscious proletarian autocracy the other extreme—which ever wins, it will be class rule, the death of democracy.

In late years a significant fact has penetrated the understanding of man; that is, that wealth-economics control in politics. Therefore, the producing class demands more of the product. In the city, more wages; in the country the farm producers demand more incoming products in exchange for their outgoing products, the fruit of their toil. In both cases, more, either of wages or products—more control in economics which gives more power in politics. The temporary truce during the war is now ended. The Government is leaving both sides to shift for themselves. Wages are falling, but prices are not—at least not in the same proportion—and the battle begins.

At a hearing of the United States Industrial Commission, an organizer of the I. W. W. said, on being asked for a recommendation: "I would recommend that the Commission say that a revolution is inevitable. You cannot stop it. And to the capitalist class I would say, 'you are doomed.' The best thing you can do is to look around for a safe spot to light."

Intelligent people know the issue is not correctly stated. The fight is not between capital and labor. Capital, standing alone in such a struggle, could not survive the preliminary barrage.



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But the two, the reactionary autocrats and the proletarian autocrats, the extreme classes, by ceaseless camouflaging, have made it seem to be a fight between capital and labor. And therein lies our danger, for so long as that error is accepted as the issue, the predatory class, safe beyond the combatant's range, will always win, and both combatants, labor and capital, will always lose, until the grand smash, when all lose, as today in Russia and as has been in the past with other empires long since disappeared from the face of the earth.

Is avoidance of this calamity possible? First, we must keep in mind that it is

an economic struggle, not a political struggle. Political freedom is attained, but political decision is controlled by economic power. Hence it goes without saying that the class that controls in economics also controls in politics. The result is the present struggle for economic power.

The reactionaries, the privileged class, know they must retain their law-given privileges—like monopoly of natural resources, land and its contents, control of public utilities, etc., without which no industries can function, in order to control others' wealth.

The producing class, workingmen, business men, manufacturers, farmers,

etc., produce the wealth, but the privileged class controlling these economic resources can and does control the division of wealth, as it is being produced. As a consequence the great prizes in wealth accumulation go to this privilege holding class, a large percentage of whom are non-producers, pure parasites. Even those of them who actually work, but nevertheless do accumulate fortunes, usually owe their fortunes to some privilege of which they are possessed, rather than to their useful labor. The enormous tribute (their so-called profit) wrung from the producing classes, by the privileged class, is reinvested in privilege, tying

up capital and preventing its use, thus increasing its cost, when employed in useful industries.

The control of privilege over industry is absolute and unbreakable so long as those employing capital in industry co-operate in politics with the privileged class. The business men are disposed so to co-operate because they have more confidence in the power of the privileged class than in the working class and therefore do so for their own protection.

But can they longer safely do so?

It is to be doubted. Workingmen are coming more and more to realize the truth, that they are not getting their full share of the products of their toil, that they are getting a small and unfair share. The class, who it seems to them, are dipping into their pocket, is the employing class. So their resentment is against the employing class. They don't realize that the employing is but a degree removed from them in being exploited by the dominating privileged class. They are helped in this delusion by the employing class itself, which identifies itself in politics and in economics with the privileged class and accepts the issue, as the privileged class cleverly intends they should, as a fight between capital and labor, not between privilege and industry, which it really is.

Control of the natural resources, including land and social values—without which there can be no industry, enables the very few who now control, to dictate the division of wealth between them and the producers of wealth, either during the time of production or the time of distribution.

It is the investment of capital in these monopolies that causes all this injustice and unequal distribution of wealth, now charged against capital.

Get rid of private monopoly and capital could not exert this economic power. It can do so now only by investing in or combining with private monopoly.

Return these monopolies to Government ownership and control. Capital and labor would then be free and would secure all they produce. The great economic power that resides in natural resources and social values would then be owned by the Government and under the control of all the people.

Obviously, if the issue was clearly and truly drawn as a fight between privilege and industry, which it really is, instead of a fight between capital and labor, which it is not, and capital and labor in an insistence on the abolition of all special privilege, united, capital and labor would win and industry would be free and the industrious would enjoy the fruits of their industry in peace.

If the fight runs its course on present lines, it means the gradual elimination of the middle class, without which no nation has long survived, and we will have on one hand, the junker, or overlord, in possession of the wealth of the land, and in control of all channels to its attainment, and on the other hand, the proletarian.

Will America submit to such a condition or will the tendency towards it be



checked in time to save our country from the civil strife now convulsing half of Europe and threatening to destroy its civilization?

It is for the business men to say. They must stand for abolition of privilege, for equal opportunity to all or accept the fate that has in the end at all times overwhelmed and destroyed the overlord and his sycophantic supporters.

Yours respectfully,  
(Signed) FREDERICK F. INGRAM Co.

♦♦♦

## Life's Gifts

By Olive Schreiner

I saw a woman sleeping. In her sleep she dreamt Life stood before her, and held in each hand a gift—in the one Love, in the other Freedom. And she said to the woman, "Choose!"

And the woman waited long; and she said, "Freedom!"

And Life said, "Thou hast well chosen. If thou hadst said, 'Love,' I would have given thee that thou didst ask for; and I would have gone from thee, and returned to thee no more. Now, the day will come when I shall return. In that day I shall bear both gifts in one hand."

I heard the woman laugh in her sleep.

♦♦♦

## Marts and Money

Depressionism is the fashionable cult on the stock exchange in New York. It grows by what it feeds upon, and feels sure that quotations must go lower still. Fresh impetus was imparted to it, the other day, by the publication of the monthly statement of the United States Steel Corporation, which disclosed a contraction of about 750,000 tons in the total of unfilled orders as of December 31. The disagreeableness of this showing was emphasized by the statement of the *Iron Age* that "the situation is one in which consumer and producer are settling down to tire each other out, but no prediction is yet ventured as to what result it probable." There was some raising of eyebrows, also, on account of the report that the steel mills were operating, on the average, at about 65 per cent of capacity. Under the impact of enlarged selling for both accounts, the quotation for Steel common was jammed down to 90½, a new minimum for the present movement. The tip is that 85 will be reached at an early date. Professional bears are quite certain that the potentialities of enforced liquidation are far from exhausted in this particular instance, and they smile good-humoredly over the news that E. H. Gary has deferred fixing the price of common shares to be sold to thrifty employees of the corporation during 1919. "Thinking hard about it, eh? Some job in present circumstances!" However, this is not the first time that the chairman is slow in arriving at a decision. Thus far, he has done pretty well in his annual predictional price-setting. The corporation's last quarterly disbursement was \$3.25, of which \$1.25 represented the regular rate of 1¼ per cent. Will there be another reduction

at the meeting of the finance committee two weeks hence? One feels tempted to reply affirmatively, with the stock's price down to 90, a figure implying a net yield of over 14 per cent. There are people who stoutly asseverate that Steel common should be regarded as an "investment stock" of substantial merits. This idea can hardly be claimed to be supported by the ruling price. Real investment stocks, paying more than 8 per cent, are, as a rule, not obtainable at less than 100. It is of distinct significance that the regular dividend on Steel common has consistently been kept at 5 per cent per annum ever since resumption of payments in January, 1916, unprecedented prosperity in the steel trade notwithstanding. Gary's policy in this respect constituted a plain "caveat emptor" to folks who felt the enticing influences of fat extra dividends of \$2 or \$3 per quarter, and were prone to purchase the common stock when it sold at prices ranging from 115 to 136½. For this reason, I say that the senescent judge is entitled to encomiums for his solicitudinous dividend announcements in the past three years. Bethlehem Steel B shares are quoted at 53½. This represents absolute minimum since issuance in the early part of 1917, and, necessarily, heralds a material lowering of the dividend rate, which has been 10 per cent right along. It denotes a net return of about 17 per cent. The highest price on record is 155½. As the stock continues to sink in value, Wall street will undoubtedly do some strenuous thinking in regard to the expansive and expensive financing of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in the past three years. The 8 per cent cumulative preferred stock, of which approximately \$30,000,000 is outstanding, is selling at 104¼. The absolute maximum of 110½ was paid in 1917. The stock is convertible into B stock at 115. There's outstanding also a total of \$50,000,000 7 per cent notes, due 1923, and currently rated at 101¼. International Mercantile Marine preferred is down to 105½. It has been liberally liquidated lately, despite tiresome reiterations concerning sales of vessels to the British and American governments. Two months ago, the stock was quoted at 125½. To onlookers outside the ropes, it has long been a profound conundrum why speculators should be crazy about buying a 6 per cent stock above par, while there's an exceptionally large variety of desirable, tested securities available at prices implying returns of more than 6 per cent. Just a fad, boosted and advertised in behalf of insiders and market cliques. The shares of oil companies displayed reactionary tendencies lately. Mexican, Petroleum and Texas Oil lost seven to ten points. The pools show uncommon cleverness in their attempts to reduce their possessions and to take profits without arousing too much suspicion among their retinues of gamblers. But their scheme may rudely be upset most any day by untoward developments. It will be something of a miracle, indeed, if they can escape the evil results that invariably follow a violent rise and flagrant manipulation. The prices of railroad stocks move uncertainly and hesitatingly, but the drift is still downward, apparently, despite

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some pleasant opinionation as to recommendations by the interstate commerce commission respecting a return of the properties to the stockholders. It is now believed, so we are given to understand, that the financial powers feel satisfied that congress will legislate conformably to the ideas outlined by the commission.

But when will congress buckle down to work on the great problem? Ah, there's the rub, which means calamity to thousands of speculators who have entered into heavy marginal commitments in railroad shares at prices much above those now in effect. Let's not forget that there was a great, impulsive rush

to purchase at rising figures for three or four weeks following assumption of control by the government. S. D. Warfield, president of the national association of owners of railroad securities, has had much to say, recently, concerning the railroad problem. His association, he declared, "represents in membership over \$5,000,000,000 of the \$17,000,000,000 railroad securities in the hands of the public. When you consider that one-fourth of the total investments of the great life insurance companies are composed of railroad securities; that over thirty million unduplicated life policies are outstanding; that every life insured has, therefore, one-fourth of the provision made after death invested in railroad securities; that 50,000,000 people, nearly one-half of the population, have a financial interest in the railroads, you can form an idea of how important become the methods under which these properties are to be returned to their owners. Unless the railroads are returned under safe and sane methods, the credit structure of the country will not stand the strain, and all business will suffer." The announcement of the withdrawal of W. G. McAdoo evoked sighs of relief on the stock exchange, though his successor, W. D. Hines, can scarcely be said to represent the views of orthodox capitalism. Some of his latest utterances echoed those of his predecessor with almost startling accuracy. The shares of some sugar companies have been voluminously sold for some days, those of the Cuba Cane Sugar Co. in especial. In this particular case, liquidation was promoted by disappointing earnings. The present quotation of the common stock (25½) indicates a depreciation of more than \$50 when contrasted with the high record set in 1916. The 7 per cent preferred has fallen from 102 to 74¼. American Beet Sugar common has lately declined from 72 to 67½ on news that the association of beet-sugar growers in the West has resolved to demand a price of \$16 a ton in 1919 from the manufacturing companies. In pre-war times, the growers were glad to get \$5.50 to \$6 a ton. While this turn in affairs may seem most undelectable to some companies, it should be received with equanimity among owners of the Great Western Sugar Co., who have received regular dividends of \$7 and extra dividends of \$40 per annum in the past two years on their common shares, after \$7 on the first preferred, and been gladdened at the same time by an advance from 100 to 400 in the market value of their certificates. There are parties in Wall street who strongly suspect that the beet-sugar regions have been infected by Bolshevism. But there was Bolshevism also in the payment of common dividends at the rate of \$47 per annum. It all depends on your point of view. According to an official statement, the total production of gold in the United States in 1918 was \$68,493,000, or the smallest in twenty years. The 1917 record was \$83,750,000. The silver output had a value of \$67,879,000, and was the smallest since 1913. Material increase in cost of production and smelting, together with serious shortage of labor, are assigned as the principal causes of the shrinkages in results.

### Finance in St. Louis

As a result of the compromise between the municipality and the street railway company, United Railways 4s have advanced from 50 to 53, and the preferred shares from 12 to 15.12½. The rise in the bonds was not attended by a large turnover on the stock exchange, but there was a very substantial increase in the totals of transactions in the common and preferred issues. The current price of the bonds compares with 57 last January, and with a high record of 66½ in 1917. That of the preferred stock still is ten points under the best record of 1918. Eleven thousand dollars St. Louis & Suburban general 5s were sold at 54, the previous figure. National Candy common is quoted at 66, against 59 a week ago. About seventy shares were transferred in the last few days. One hundred and seventy shares of Ely-Walker D. G. first preferred brought 100. The high points in 1918 and 1917 were 105 and 109, respectively. One hundred and fifteen Hydraulic-Press Brick common brought 5; thirty-five Certain-teed first preferred, 88; twenty-five Fulton Iron Works common, 43.25, and twenty-five St. Louis, R. M. & P. common, 42.25. The local monetary situation shows no changes of consequence. Time loans are quoted at 5¼ to 5¾ per cent. The discount on mercantile paper is 5¼ to 5¾.

### Latest Quotations

	Bid	Asked
Boatmen's Bank .....	109	.....
Nat. Bank of Commerce.....	119½	.....
Miss. Valley Trust.....	270	275
United Railways com.....	.....	4½
do pfd. ....	15¼	15¾
do 4s .....	53	.....
St. L. & Sub. gen. 5s.....	54¾	56
Certain-teed com. ....	.....	37
do 1st pfd .....	88	.....
Mo. Portland Cement.....	77	77½
Int. Shoe com. ....	5¾	5¾
Hyd. P. Brick com.....	5¾	5¾
do pfd. ....	30¾	.....
Hamilton-Brown .....	.....	135
Ind. Brew. 6s.....	41	42
National Candy com.....	68¾	70
do 1st pfd. ....	109	.....
do d pfd. ....	98½	100
Rocky Mt. com. ....	43¾	.....

### Answers to Inquiries

H. S. McL., Corsicana, Tex.—(1) Under existing conditions, St. Paul common is merely a speculation, and hopes of a renewal of dividends must be abandoned. Nothing has been paid on either common or preferred in 1918. The 7 per cent preferred dividend is non-cumulative. The present price of the common (40¾) is not very tempting, though indicative of a decline of about fourteen points since September 7 last. A really favorable turn in the general railroad situation would, of course, be sharply reflected in the price of St. Paul shares. In former years, the common was among the most active issues of the exchange.

G. J., Chicago, Ill.—The prior lien 4s of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad Co. are quoted at 62¼ at this moment, the adjustment 6s at 68, and the income 6s at 45. The high marks in 1918 were 67½, and 76, and 55, respectively. In 1917, they were 71½, and 77, and 56½. These bonds, especially the income and adjustment 6s, still are decidedly speculative, and therefore subject to more or less important fluctua-



tions. Recent depression, though due mostly to declines in the general market, was accentuated by the sale of new 6 per cent bonds, involving an addition of about \$320,000 to annual fixed charges. The quotation for the incomes reflects considerable doubt as to maintenance of payments; the 6 per cent is non-cumulative. Would recommend selling of the incomes, if you have a profit, and provisional retention of adjustments and prior lien 4s.

SUBSCRIBER, St. Louis.—It is not likely that the 6 per cent dividend rate on National Enameling & S. common can be maintained permanently. The quoted price of the stock (47) plainly fore-shadows a cut before long. The remarkable gain in company's earnings in the past two or three years was chiefly the outgrowth of war contracts. It would seem, however, that a 3 per cent rate could be maintained indefinitely, though there were no payments on the common between 1905 and 1917.

MARKET, St. Louis.—(1) Unless you are pressed for funds, you should not sell your Chino Copper at or around the present price of 33½, which is nearly eleven points under the maximum attained in 1914, when stockholders received 50 to 75 cents per quarter, as compared with the existing quarterly rate of \$1. A cut to 75 cents would not cause much further depression. The lowest would probably be 30 or 29. The stock has not been particularly active in the last six months. (2) would take profits on Car & Foundry common, and step aside for a while.

FINANCE, Bowling Green, Mo.—(1) Russian government 6½s, quoted at 52, cannot be said to be an attractive speculation, though they were up to 70 a few months back. They are a gamble, and should be bought only by people who feel confident that the Soviet government will be overthrown eventually and payments resumed. (2) The Liggett & Myer 6s are a good investment. No danger of a serious decline from present price of 99¾. Company's 5s quoted at 93½. (3) Would not add to holdings of Montana Power stock above 60.

B. A. B., Tiffin, O.—(1) Industrial Alcohol is very likely to go lower. Reduce your holdings. The \$16 dividend cannot be maintained permanently. (2) Let Advance Rumely alone. No dividends likely in near future.

### Coming Shows

"Experience," the modern morality by George V. Hobart, which has been the dramatic sensation for the past four seasons, will be at the Shubert-Jefferson next week. The play tells the story of Youth, his trials, temptations, follies and sorrows when he leaves his country home and seeks fortune in a big city. The setting is most realistic, showing pleasure's haunts and poverty's bleak streets, and the peaceful quiet of the country. Although an allegory, all the scenes—there are ten—are up to date and deal with modern conditions. Marie Horne as *Pleasure*, Frazier Coulter as *Wealth*, Dorothy Newell as *Passion*, created these roles and will appear in the cast here next week; they will be assisted by Raymond Van Sickle as *Youth* and a cast of eighty-two others.

"Pollyanna," famous comedy of the glad-girl, will come to the American theatre next week to spread its doctrine of cheerfulness. As story and as play it has charmed thousands of people of all classes. *Pollyanna* is the

greatest optimist anyone ever imagined and the play as produced by Klaw and Erlanger is a tonic for tired spirits.

Annette Kellerman herself is coming to the Orpheum next week in an act which she has concocted from her various stage accomplishments and calls "An Intimate Revue." In this she will entertain with all the arts and graces which she has acquired in her experiences at the New York Hippodrome and in the movies. She will be assisted by Kerr, Weston and Coogan. Other numbers will be Sidney Phillips with songs and stories, Imhoff, Conn and Coreene in a travesty called "In a Pest House," Bert Swor, blackface comedian; Jack Alfred and company in a novel skit called "Smile," Bert Earle and company in a musical comedy, Sylvia Loyal and company in a French act, and all the latest news from "over there" told in pictures.

The headliner at the Grand Opera House next week will be George Lovett presenting "Concentration," a melange of mystery, music, science; questions from members of the audience will be answered. Other attractions will be the Johnson-Dean revue of colored singers and dancers, Harry Rose with pleasing patter, Garry Owen and Betty Moore, a smart couple from Broadway; Dreon sisters with songs and smiles, Joe Barton, the silent tramp; Bicknell, the model baker; the Animated War Weekly, Official War Review, and Sunshine and Mutt and Jeff cartoons.

Douglass A. Flint, an old favorite, and his company will head the Columbia bill next week with an amusing playlet called "Easy Money." They will be followed by Will and Enid Bland and company with a mystery act, Alfred Guest and Victoria Newlyn in singing, dancing and talking; Eary and Eary, novelty gymnasts, and Lawrence Johnson, singing comedian. The feature picture will be "Too Fat to Fight," with Frank McIntyre as the star. Other films will be a Pathe comedy, a Strand comedy, the Official War Review and the Columbia Weekly.

The Bowery Burlesquers, headed by Billy Foster and Frank Harcourt, will open Sunday afternoon for a week's engagement at the Gayety. They will present a two-act comedy entitled "The Health Hunters," full of amusing incidents supplemented with some of the latest music of the catchy kind. The cast includes Marty Seamon, Grace Anderson, Joe Fern, Libby Hart, Pam Lawrence, Sylvia Webb and a chorus of thirty beautiful girls whose costumes created much favorable comment in New York.

### Symphony

Mischa Levitski, the youthful American pianist who won a host of friends and admirers on the occasion of his appearance here last year, will be the soloist at the Symphony concerts Friday and Saturday of this week. An unusual feature of his appearance is that he will play two concertos—Beethoven's No. 3, in C Minor, Op. 37, and Liszt's No. 1 in E Flat—whereas very few artists will undertake more than one at a single performance. The other two numbers on the program are Ropatz' symphony No. 4 in C Major, three movements, and Converse' orchestral fantasy, "The Mystic Trumpeter," Op. 19, after the poem by Walt Whitman.

At the Sunday "Pop" concert, Max Steindel, the first 'cellist, will be the soloist and will play one of the most florid 'cello compositions extant. The program follows:

1. Oriental March.....Zach
2. Overture to "Le Roi Pa dit".....Delibes
3. Norwegian Dances.....Grieg
4. Variations on a Roccoco Theme for Violoncello and Orchestra...Tschaiikowsky
5. a—Entr'acte from "Roma".....Massenet  
b—Entr'acte "Sevillana," from "Don Cesar de Bazan".....Massenet
6. Prelude to "Le Deluge".....Saint-Saens  
Violin obligato, Mr. Gusikoff
7. Hungarian March, "Rakoczy".....Berlioz

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CYCLONIC  
**EVA TANGUAY**  
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Fisher & Hawley—Brodean & Silvermoon—Simmons & Brantley  
**ALBERTINA RASCH**  
Mats. 15c to 50c — Eves. 15c to \$1.00

**GAYETY** 14th & Locust **MATINEE DAILY**  
**LADIES 10c**  
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HARRY K. MORTON with ZELLA RUSSELL  
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STARTING MONDAY AT 11 A. M. AND ALL WEEK.  
George Lovett will present "Concentration," a real mystery, embracing music, science and mirth. Others on the bill are The Johnson-Dean Revue, Harry Rose, eccentric comedian, Garry Owen and Betty Moore, The Dreon Sisters, Joe Barton "The Silent Tramp," Bicknell "The Model Baker."  
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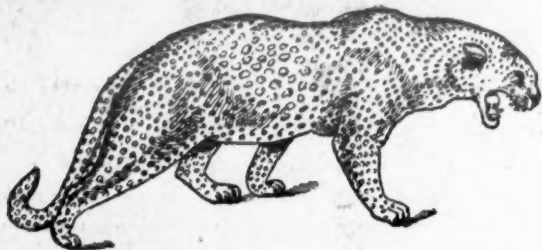
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Continuous Daily, 11 to 11  
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ROY B. SIMPSON, President

Phone, Olive 462

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